not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!"

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation.

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister *gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister *dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father *mĭgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father *mĭ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister *o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother *o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother *ais gais or *gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother *ai·ros or *ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Bishop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle ‘ũ//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited.

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84).

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

We have two chief groups of family names, /o/mi, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here.

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Horsemot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kjaribes, the son is called

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei sieras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ai /gûs se ra*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *se /gûs sun*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gûi*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//aixa*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and love-play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 20; Hahn, "Zur Kenntnis der Hottentotten," 30; idem, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 40–3; von Francois, op. cit., 100; Fehrsen, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

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604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *tàras* or *gei taras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost-anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//nâri //gab* or *//nâri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

88 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even *to-day* carefully observed among the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *khara*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relative. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 22–3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 323–26; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 309.

[2] "Reisje van den Heere van Plettenberg," 99–100.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, I, 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 377; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 371; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 253; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297–71; Vedder, "The Nama," 156.

[4] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," 70–4; *idem*, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 319–9.

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ceremonially initiated between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots.

Somewhat akin to the *aorgus*, from the economic point of view, is the *//nari //gas*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism.

It is hardly necessary to stress any further the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his *ens*, soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the right to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2]

1. "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 482–3.
2. "The Nama," 144.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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My father's sister is nowadays called *Mupis* (or *Mupives*, if she is young), but the older men and women deny that this is a pure Nama word. There is a Dutch word *Moeke*, meaning little mother, and it is most likely that this, together with many other terms of kinship, has been adopted by the Nama from the Dutch. My most reliable informants tell me that the old Nama way of addressing the father's sister was *Ēis Geis*, that is, big mother. This woman is also called *Tāras* or *Gei Tāras*,[2] the great respected one, and great deference is, or was, due to her. The father's sister's husband is called *Omeb* nowadays, a term most certainly borrowed from the Dutch Om(uncle). It can be used in the diminutive form *Omeib* also. This man may also be addressed as *Tatab* through courtesy, but there is no distinctive term applied to him.

My mother's brother is properly *//Ndab* or *//Ndaxab*, but he may be called *Omeb* nowadays. His wife is *//Nâes*, but she may be called *Mupis* now. The behavior due to this man will be described later.

Contemporary Generation. The children of my father, of my father's brothers, and of my mother's sisters, in fact, the children of all those whom I call *Tatab* and *Mamas* in their own right, are my brother, *!Gāb*, and my sister, *!Gās*. My older brother is *!Gāb Geib*, my younger brother is *!Gāb ǂKami*. The form *!Gāxab* may also be used. Nowadays, the forms *Butib*, *Butireb*, may be used from the Dutch Boetie (brother). My sister is *!Gās hais*, my younger sister *!Gās ǂKama* or *!Gāxas*. These terms are used by both men and women. The term *Sisis* is also in use, especially *Ouris*, from the Dutch *ou*, meaning old, and *Suusie*, meaning sister. The form *Sisiros* is formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*.

Nowadays, further, these relatives are sometimes distinguished as */Ge !Gāxab*, */ge !Gāxas* (from */ge* to have twins), that is, twin brother, twin sister, to distinguish them from the cross cousins who may be called *//Nari !Gāxab*.

My father's sister's son is my *//Nerib*. My father's sister's daughter is my *//Neris*. These forms are used by both men and

[2] This word, *Tāras*, is to be very carefully distinguished from another *Taras* which means wife.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons
of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must
602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most
582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is
an indication of the complete transformation of the organization
of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and
European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now
602 relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother
593 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they
ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to
avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to
speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the
hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful
terms. A sister was a *târas*, that is, a person to be respected, not
to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister
was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could
generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was
taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*saw*) in the presence of
his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call
[613] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her pre-
sence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to
purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei /Keis*, a great offense.
Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut
when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a
man is his *Gei Târas*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own
582 generation whom he calls *//Naris*. These women are his com-
panions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech
and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been
considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that
a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of
great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with
much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had
to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the
greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

4: Hoernlé E-S (1912-1913)1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's */Hêis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nôri //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[2] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[2] Cf. Rhenish Missions-Berichte, 1838, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1840, p. 31.